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A 2.6.13.

JOURNEY

THROUGH

RUSSIA Lawrelle Sumplies & PERSIA;

BYTWO

English Gentlemen,

Who went in the Year 1739,

From Petersburg, in order to make a Discovery how the Trade from Great Britain might be carried on from Astracan over the Caspian.

To which is annex'd;

A furnmary Account of the Rife of the famous KOULIKAN, and his Successes, till he feated himself on the Persian Throne.

LONDON:

Printed for R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall; and Sold by T. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-noster Row. 1742.

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TO

Sir John Thompson,

Governor of the Russia Company,

LITTLE TREATISE

Is most humbly inscribed,

TESTIMONY

Of his many

VIRTUES;

Particularly of his known

BENEVOLENCE,

And ready Disposition to promote a

Publick GOOD,

Manifest in his Assiduity in procuring

An Act to open a Trade to Persia

Through the

Russian Dominions,

BY HIS

Most Humble Servant,

James Spilman.



A

JOURNEY

FROM

MOSCO to MESHED,

The New CAPITAL of

PERSIA.



E left Mosco the 14th of March 1738-9, and travell'd to Muram, a City which stands on the North Bank of the River Occa, about 240 * Versts distance. This River is very

confiderable, and falls into the River Volga at Ni/na-Novogorod, and our Road lay cross it. The Ice stood fast, but was full of Holes, rotten and dangerous; but it being then a hard Frost, clear and Moon-light, at Midnight we ventured to cross it, and got safe over. From hence we pro-

* A Verst is about three quarters of a Mile English.

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(2)

ceeded about 160 Versts farther to the City of Allamas; here we found the Rivulets much Iwelled with the melting of the Snow, and the Ice in them broken up, that we could not continue our Tourney any farther, till the Waters abated, and that we might conveniently travel with Waggons, which we had a good Opportunity to provide ourselves with. The latter part of our Journey proved as tedious to ourfelves as it was heavy for our Horses, being frequently obliged to quit the main Road, and go far round about on account of the Overflowing of the small Rivers; two of our Horses died with the Fatigue, and the rest were much harrass'd. We arrived at Assamas the 21st, and took up our Quarters in an adjacent Village the 4th of April; we provided ourselves with Waggons and fresh Carriers, and finding the Waters pretty well drain'd off the Land, we departed for Saratoff. Travelling began to be pleasant as our Course was to the S. E. and as the Summer advanced, the Roads every Day grew better on the Step, or Wilderness, where we found great Plenty of wild Ducks, Snipes, Heathcocks, and other Birds, that we shot more than enough to fupply us, and lived wholly on Game. At this time there was no Grass on the Step, that we were forced to carry Hay and Corn with us for our Horses, during our four Days travelling over it; and should have found it very agreeable, but that one or other of us were obliged to be continually on the Watch, for fear of being furprized. At about 20 Versts distance from each other, through the Step, are certain Houses called Zaimoira's, built for the Accommodation of Travellers in Winter. At these Places we

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were forced to take up our Lodging, on account of Water, which in other Places was scarce. These Zamoira's are as good a Harbour for Rogues, as others, which obliged us to be more than ordinary on our Guard; neither could we put any great Considence in our Waggoners. We had two Russ Servants, and we were two, that we divided ourselves in the Night into two Watches, and this Method we continued all the

way down the Volga.

The 15th of April we arrived at the City of Saratoff, about Noon, and waited on the Voyavode, or Governor. We found great Difficulty to get us Quarters, the Town having been burnt about a Year before. The Company of Armenians, whom we were in great Hopes to have found here, had failed from hence two Days before, fo that we had no other Chance but to proceed down the Volga by ourselves. What distressed us most was to get a Passage, for we could find none but large Boats or Veffels, which were bound down the Volga with Meal, which might probably be a Month in their Passage to Astracan; the large * Lotka's, or Canoe's, which used to be here in great Numbers, were gone on the Sturgeon Fishery, and the few that remained were all fitting out on the same Design, and were not to be hired or purchased on any Terms; fo that we were at the greatest Loss imaginable how to get to Astracan time enough to secure our Passage cross the Caspian in the same Vessel with the Armenians.

^{*} Lotka, a small Boat sow'd together with Willow. Ca-noe, a Boat cut out of a solid Tree.

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This being of great Consequence, in order to effect it, we determined to proceed in such a Boat as we could get, if she was but large enough to carry our Goods; but our Inquiry was in vain, they were one and all engaged for the Fishery. While we were in this Dilemma, a Vessel arrived with Passengers from Samabra, and we were informed that there was a spare Lotka belonging to her; we immediately went to see it, and finding it might do in the Emergency we were in, and there being no other to be had, we bought her for three * Rubles and an half. She being old and leaky, it required two Days to let her dry e're we could trim her, and new pay her Bottom; in the mean Time we provided her with Mast and Sails, and shipped five Hands to go with us to Astracan. The third Day, she being fitted and ready, we put our Goods on board her, for then we found Room enough, and for some part of our Baggage and Provisions; but the far greatest Part of the latter we were forced to leave behind, to be fent after us the first Opportunity; and we found just room for four Oars, and two of us to fit in the + Stern-sheats. But the worst was, when we all got into the Boat, being now ten in Number, she swam so deep that we were in great Doubt with ourselves whether to proceed in her or not; but being urged by Necessity, knowing the fingular Advantage it would be to us, if possible, to join those Armenians that were before us, so as to be able to cross the Caspian in the same Vessel with them, (otherwise missing that Opportunity we might lose half the Sum-

* A Ruble is 1 s. 6 d. + 5

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mer before another Vessel sailed for Rashd, and that arriving there late in the Summer might probably occasion us to winter in Gilan, which would be a Twelve-month's loss of time) on using the utmost Caution, we found the Boat might carry us down fafely, we resolved to proceed with her. On the Security of our little Cargo, our Experiment in Persia, and all our Hopes that way depended; for to arrive at Aftracan with our Goods damaged, was in effect not to arrive there at all. These Difficulties made us in a Manner forget the Danger of Pirates, which we were informed might fall in our way about Zolotova. One of us had been at this Inlet before, and knew it to be a very likely Place to harbour Villains; but as we had Arms more than sufficient, and we heard that these Rogues were, as yet, unprovided with them, we did not doubt but to make our Party good in case they should attack us.

The 20th of April we cast off and left Sarabtoff: We were detain'd some Hours every Day by contrary Winds, which blew fresh; this obliged us to go very near the Entrance of Zolotova Inlet, which else we did not intend. We had scarce open'd this Inlet, e'er we came on a fudden in fight of at least forty People, who were within Pistol-shot of us on the Bank, and by them was five or fix large Boats. We instantly stood to our Arms, and asked them who they were, and where they were going. They answer'd, they belong'd to Nesna Novogorod, and were going down to Astracan. We rowed down about a Mile lower, and went ashore; but before we had got out of the Boat, one of their Boats put off and came directly down to us,

and hover'd some time about us; but we kept our People to the Boat with their Arms ready. She held on her Way down the Volga; we tarried about an Hour to refresh ourselves, and then it being calm we continu'd on our Way. About Midnight one of their Boats came again up pretty close to us, but on our calling to her the kept off. Soon after came the rest of their Boats in fight; but on our calling and threatening to fire into them if they came any nearer, they thought fit to sheer off. If these were Villains, they feeing us well provided with Arms, and always on our Guard, they durst not venture to attack us. We thought they might be Boerlacks, or Labourers going down to Astracan; but as we were forewarn'd, it would not have been Prudence for us to trust them, especially as we had heard these Fellows, when they have an Opportunity, do most of the Mischief that is done on the Volga. Several fuch fort of Alarms we had before we reach'd Astracan, sometimes occasioned by the Russians, sometimes by the Calmucks; (which with contrary Winds, and our Boat's being so deep, both of which oblig'd us often to make fast to the Shore; which, if we had been in a larger Boat and more Oars, we could have prevented and held on our Way;) it was a Fortnight e'er we arrived at Astracan, and we were thoroughly fatigued. For when we were in the Boat, who loever's Turn it was to fleep, there was no Room to lye down, but he must sleep fitting, which is almost as bad as watching; and when at Night we made fast to the Shore, the Danger of being furpriz'd by Villains gave us but painful Sleep. Going down the Volga from Saratoff is not in the least dangerous, provided

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one has a good Boat and a well-arm'd Company ! Then he has nothing to fear from Calmucks or Russ Pirates; but we being in quite contrary Circumstances, made it very hazardous and fatiguing. On the 4th of May we arrived at Astracan, secured our Boat, and took a found Sleep void of Fear for that part of the Night; in the Morning we foon got us Quarters, and our Goods and Baggage on Shore. Here we found the Company of Armenians we so much wanted to join, who intended to load their Goods on board one of the Czarina's Vessels, which was to sail for Reshd in about three Weeks. We had all this Time to inform ourselves about the Persian Trade, and how it was carried on both by the Russians as well as the Armenians: We found the latter very shy in giving us Information, fearing we came to put in for a Share with them in their Profits; therefore we could make no fure Dependence on what they inform'd us: Which was, that hitherto the Trade from Astracan to Persia had been free and open, and foreign Merchants importing Goods into Persia might carry them to what Market they liked best, and dispose of them to whom they pleased; but this Year all Goods that arrived at Reshd were obliged to be fold there, and that the * Shach would not permit any one to buy them except his own Merchants; for althor they may keep the Goods by them if they do not like the Price the Shach's Merchants offer, yet they could not carry them to any other Market, or fell them to any other. Also that the Shach had engrois'd all the Raw-Silk to himself, so that those who would buy Silk must buy it of his

* Shah, as Mr. Fraser writes it.

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Merchants, and not of the Persian Boors as for-

merly.

We were likewise assured, that the English East-India-Company's Servants had quitted Ispahan; and, as these * foulfa Armenians gave out, were obliged to leave that City on the express Order of Nadir Shach, whose Displeasure they had some way incurr'd. These Armenians are the greatest Traders of all that Nation, and it is they who carry on so considerable a Trade thro' Russia to Amsterdam. Besides, they told us, that it was certain that the Legistan or Mountain Tartars of the Province of Shervan, had rebell'd against Nadir Shach; had cut off his Brother and many of his Troops who were sent to quell them; but that this Rebellion did not interrupt the Trade of the Province of Gilan.

All things being thus unhappily circumstanced made us determine to proceed directly from Astracan to Chiva, and thence to Bokhara, for which Place the Goods that we had with us were chiefly forted and defigned; in order to which we view'd a Vessel belonging to a Russ Merchant, which was bound to a Landing-Place, where a Ferry-Boat brings Goods of all Sorts proper for that Country, on the East Side of the Caspian, from whence cross the Step (or Desert) in about ten Days we might arrive at Chiva, and so on to Bokhara, to which Place two Russ Factors were going in this Vessel, and also several Chisinsky Tartars, who came in this same Vessel from the Port or Landing-Place last Year. But on more mature Deliberation we were forced to lay afide this Defign, tho' with (9)

much Regret, fince our Curiofity made us eager to have seen Bakhar, and from thence to have return'd back thro' Persia: At the former we were fure to have fold our Goods for a confiderable Profit, and at the same time have gained Knowledge of a Country so little known to Europeans, and on which we chiefly placed our Hopes. The chief Reasons that dissuaded us were, that the Vessel, on examining her, we found to be an old crazy flat-bottom Fishing Vessel, our Companions to be only two or three mean Russians, and in crofsing the Step to Chiva from the Place we land, the great Risque we run of being plunder'd and fold for Slaves. For though it should be true that the Khan, or Governor, does on Notice of this Vessel's Arrival at the Landing-place, fend a small Convoy to meet and protect the Carravan (so the Goods and Passengers this Vessel bring are call'd;) yet this is but a flender Security, as he may at the same time send a much stronger Party to plunder them. All the Tartars are known to be most fubtil and artful at Stratagems, therefore one must be always on one's Guard, and cautious in dealing with them, for they won't fail to deceive you if any way they possibly can. But what prevail'd with us most to desist from this Expedition, was the Certainty we had of the Perfians having fallen into that Country; fo that had we arrived fafe at Chiva and Bakhana, there was little Hopes of our Return by the Way of Persia; and if so, then the principal End of our Journey would have been loft, and we should have gain'd no Information of the Silk Trade in the Province of Gilan; to which Place we were forced again to turn our Eye, tho' we had

^{*} Joulfa Armenians are such of them as are the Inhabitants of Ispahan, and are the richest of them.

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but a fad and gloomy Prospect in that Quarter. What supported us was, that the Armenians shipped off Goods for Reshd, and so we now resolved to do, and to stand the same Chance

rey did.

Before we had feen Astracan we were very much prejudiced in its Favour, and concluded from its Situation (so commodiously as we imagined) it must be very beautiful, &c. but we did not find it so. It stands 100 * Versts from the Bar, at the principal Entrance of the Volga. This is very inconvenient, because those Ships or Vessels that are fit for the Caspian, are not adapted for mounting the Stream of the Volga, from the Road at the Entrance of the Volga to Astracan, and which they are frequently longer about than in making their Voyage or Passage cross the Caspian, besides the Delays they are fubject to, both in going and coming, from the Guard-Ship at the Entrance of the Volga. Whereas had Astracan been actually a Sea-Port on the Caspian, all these and many more Inconveniences had been avoided. There does not appear to be above 20 or 25 Vessels which cross the Caspian, that belong to the Russ Merchants of Astracan; there are some of them a Sort of Fly-boats; the rest are Smacks or Hoys, the former are about 250 Tons burthen, the latter 100 to 150 Tons. Whilst the Crown of Russia kept the Province of Gilan in its Possession, the Russians of Astracan employed their Vessels themselves, chiefly in carrying Provisions of all Kinds to supply the Russian Army; but now their Vessels are mostly freight-

* 100 Versts is 75 Miles,

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ed by the Armenians, for whom they carry Goods and Passengers to and from Astracan to Derbent, Backu and Reshd; also in carrying * Nephta and Passengers from Backu to Reshd. for the Persians; likewise Provisions for the Russian Garrison, and others at Turky. The Russ Merchants at Astracan, of whom there are many very rich, don't concern themselves much with foreign Trade, which is in a manner wholly in the Hands of the Armenians and Indians, but confine themselves to the Fisheries on the Caspian and Volga, in which they find great Profit. They fend very large Vessels up the Volga, some of them 400 even to 500 Tons, loaded with Salt Fish, chiefly Sturgeon, Belluga, + Sizan, and † Sudack. The Sizan are found in infinite Quantities both above and below Astracan. These great Vessels ascend the Stream of the Volga quite to the City of Macao, where they arrive at the Time of the Fair, and bring back from thence, and from the other Cities and Towns adjacent on the Volga, Provisions of all Sorts to supply the City of Astracan, near which, for many hundred Miles, little or no Corn grows.

The Armenians and Indians are the principal Shopkeepers in Astracan for foreign Commodities. The former have a Suburb to themfelves; those of them who reside constantly at Astracan have Houses for their Families; but both Indians and Armenians, who only come and go to and from Persia, live in Caravansera's, or publick Inns.

* Nephta, an Oil used in Lamps, &c. which issues out

† Sudack, like a Codling, but much better,

of some Mountains near Astracan and Backu.

† Sizan, Carp of a prodigious Size.

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The Russian Fleet, which belongs to the Government, is chiefly laid up at Astracan, where there is an Admiralty, in which the commanding Officer, who is commonly a Lieutenant, refides; he has under his Command two Lieutenants, a Body of Soldiers, Carpenters, and others. But there is another Ship-yard (just within the Bar, at the Entrance into the Volga out of the Caspian, 90 Versts below Astracan) it is named Ferkee. Here are fitted out and laid up all the Vessels of the Crown that annually cross the Caspian, and it is a convenient Place to fit or careen at; the worst at this Place is, that when it blows hard at S. E. and E. S. E. the Island of Ferkee is liable to be laid wholly under Water, without the Bar. Thirty Versts below is a fandy Island, named Cheterybuger; on this Island is a Light-house or Beacon; and off this Island lay the principal Guard-ship. This is a tolerable good Road, where Ships may ride in two and two Fathom and an half Water, within about a Mile or two from the Shoar, and in four Fathom Water about a League off the Shoar. Here it is that all Vessels coming from Gilan, Backu and Derbent, perform their Quarentine, but the Passengers commonly have Leave to perform theirs on Shoar on the Island. Thus far the Command of the Astracan Admiralty seems to extend (though the Sovereignty of all the Caspian was claimed by Peter the Great, when he was at Astracan, on his Expedition into Perfia. The deepest Water that was then found on the Bar was not above fix Feet, but now there is full nine Feet Water on the Bar. This was not occasioned by the shifting of the Sands, but by the encreasing or rising of the Water in the Caspian, which (13)

they say is found to encrease for fifteen Years, and decrease for the same Time, on all the Shoars of the Caspian; and hence it comes that the Island ferkee is liable to be laid wholly under Water.

As to Astracan, though it stands on a low sandy Island, it is not subject to be overslowed, yet some part of its Suburbs are sometimes. This City is enclosed with a high brick Wall, on which are Battlements after the old manner, as is also the Citadel. It is very populous, and the Caravansera and Market make a very noble Appearance; but the Houses are chiefly built of Wood, which being scarce here, they are most of them built out of the Timber of Vessels, which bring Provisions from the upper part of the Volga, and are afterwards commonly sold for that Purpose; and indeed as Astracan is wholly supply'd with Provisions by the Volga, it causes a great Consuence of Vessels thither.

On the 23d of May, being informed by the Lieutenant Commander of the Admiralty, that a Vessel belonging to the Empress would sail for Reshd, we immediately put our Goods and Baggage on board a Vessel to proceed down the Volga, and the next Day in the Afternoon arrived at Jerkee; the Midshipman, that commands there, gave us the best Quarters he could procure us, which was a Sail-loft; for the Houses there are but very mean ones, except the Admiralty-house, which consists of four Rooms, in which are quartered four Midshipmen. We arrived at Jerkee five Days before the Armenians, and were forced to tarry five Days longer before they had loaded their Goods, and the Vefsel ready to fail.

June

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June 3d. We left Jerkee, in fair Weather and a Calm, so we drove with the Stream over the Bar. The Circumstances of our Voyage we refer to the Log-Book, and only observe, that after a very Fair-weather Passage of about a Fortnight we arrived safe in Zinzella Road, and the next Day got into the Bar and enter'd the Haven. Zinzella is the Sea-port of the City of Reshd, the principal City of the Province of Gilan. There is about nine Foot Water on the Bar. On the following Day we failed and warped cross Zinzella Lake, which is about five Leagues over, and came to a small Village on the fouth Bank of the Lake, named Perne Buzzar. Here the Persian Custom-house Officers have their Station, and all the Goods defign'd for Reshd are landed; there are some old Warehouses built by the Russians. The City of Reshd stands inland eight Miles from Perre Buzzar, and from whence Goods are carried to the City.

June 21st. We landed our Goods and Baggage, and after they had been vifited by the Cuftom-house Officers, we proceeded directly with them to Reshd, where when we arrived they were lodged in the Custom-house; but our Baggage after it had been inspected was immediately returned us. Our Goods remain'd about three Days in the Custom-house, in which time they were open'd, view'd and valued; the Duty on their Valuation was Five per Cent. in the current Coin: They gave us them, and left it to us when to discharge the Duty. We were obliged to take up our Lodgings in a very indifferent Carravansera, no better Quarters being on a sudden to be had: The best of them here are but mean ones, the Rooms having no Light but what

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what comes in at the Door, and are rather a small fort of Cells than Rooms; that we, who had never been lodg'd so before, could not help

thinking that we were in a fail.

It was nine Days before we could get a House. which we hired for five Rubles a Month. In this House the Russian Consul formerly lived: It was a pleasant airy Place; it seem'd a Heaven to us, if compar'd to our Carravansera. On our Arrival here it was our greatest Concern in what Character to act, being fuch intire Strangers, and the first Englishmen that ever came hither on account of Trade. It suited our Inclinations best, as it was our Defign, to have liv'd privately and unobserv'd, and so to have return'd; but this we found utterly impracticable, for the Joulfa Armenians at Astracan, as well as those who came over in the same Vessel with us, being much alarm'd at our coming, had inform'd every body of us, particularly the Vizir and Mustapha, the Commanders of the Province of Gilan, and whom, we were well affured, they endeavour'd to prejudice against us. Therefore had we pretended our Journey hither was only out of Curiofity, it might have proved fatal to us, by giving the Armenians an Opportunity to have infinuated that we were Spies, and were come here only on some mischievous Purpose. After some Confideration, and the best Information we could get of the Nature and Humour of the Persians, we determin'd to act in our own proper Character as Merchants, being the fafest, and what we could abide by at all Events; and to prevent the Vizir's fending to enquire who we were, it would be better to wait on him ourfelves, and to tell him our own Story: The Vizir being

being out of Town, one of us waited on Mustapha (who is Commander of the City in his Abfence) who was receiv'd very courteously; his Behaviour was very much like a Gentleman. Excuse was made for the Absence of the other thro' an Indisposition: And he was inform'd that we were Englishmen, come with a small Cargo to try how our Cloths would fell in Gilan, and to buy up Silk; that when we had made the Experiment, and should find it answer, we should then engage largely in the Trade, and probably some of us come and constantly reside here; and that it was fit that one us, who was a Seaman as well as Merchant, should come to view the Caspian; that we might the better know if it was fafely navigable, and how far we might venture our Goods cross it; also to see if the present Vessels that now cross the Caspian were to be trufted, or whether we should be obliged to have Vessels of our own.

To which Mustapha reply'd, That the Shach was a great Encourager of Trade, and would no doubt favour our Design; and that we might depend on having all the Indulgence and Protection we could in reason desire; that he would immediately make a Report of us to the Vizir Mulin (that was his Name.) A Reception so favourable made us very easy. However we thought it necessary to wait on the Vizir as soon as possible; tho' the Journey to him would be a little expensive.

June 27th. Having provided ourselves with Horses, we set out for Languagn, a City about fifty Versis to the Eastward of Reshd, where the Vizir has a Country-Seat, and where the Heats are much more moderate than at Reshd. It was

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late in the Evening when we arrived at Languagn, fo our Guide and Linguist, who is a Persian, carried us directly to the Calenter's, who not being at home, hiseldest Son receiv'd us very civilly. When he came in, he repeated the Compliments his Son had made us, and order'd Supper up: After we had eat we retired to our Room; the eldest Son came to us and brought two more Persians with him. We finding that they drank strong Liquors, and that the Calenter had excellent Lemon Juice, we treated them with Punch till midnight, at which time our Brandy was near at an end; we had not brought much with us. not expecting to find fuch merry Fellows among the Persians, Nadir Shach having on very severe Penalties forbid them the Use of spiritous Liquors, as well as the Juice of the Grape. One of the Persians sung us a great many Songs in his Language: He was reckon'd a great Proficient in Singing. He began so low one could scarce at first hear him, but as he proceeded he continu'd to raise his Voice, and before he had ended it might very well pass for Screaming, for we were almost deafened with the Noise: Yet our Linguist made an Excuse for him, and said, he never heard him perform so badly, for that when he was free from a Cold you might very well hear him at half a Mile Distance.

June 28th. About Sun-rife we waited on the Vizir, having fent our Present before us; for there is no appearing before a great Man in Persia for the first Time without a Present. He received us and our Present very kindly, bidding us well-come, and immediately Chairs were brought us to fit down. Our Linguist again inform'd him whom we were, and on what Account we came

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into Persia, and begged the Favour of his Protection. He answer'd us, That as we were Strangers, fo he reckon'd us his Guests; and therefore had we not come about Business, it was his Duty to do all in his Power to serve us: That as to our Defign, he would talk with us about it when he came to Reshd, and then he would forthwith make a Report of us to the Shach, who, he was affur'd, would not fail to favour it. He excused himself that he could not ask us to dine with him that Day, because he was to go immediately to Reshd; but he defired that we would tarry and rest ourselves with the Calenter, who would be very glad of our Company. So after having been treated by the Vizir with Coffee, Tea, and Sweetmeats, we retir'd to the Calenter's. The House of the Vizir, according to the Persian Taste, is no mean one: It stood at the west End of a large oblong Court, which was enclos'd with a Wall a Quarter of a Mile in circuit; the Ground was not pav'd with Stones, but cover'd with a Greenfod. The east End of the House is one large Gallery, cover'd over head, in which is a Fountain that plays. We ascended to the Gallery by many Steps, so that it was rather in the middle Story above twenty Feet from the Ground; this gave it the Command of a vast extended Land-Ikip: The Prospect all the Way to the Eastward and the adjacent Country being finely interspers'd with Mountains, Woods, and Vales, nothing could be more delightful. At the farther End of the Gallery fate the Vizir, and on each Side of him, close to the Walls, sate on Carpets, on the Floor, feveral Persians of Note, smoaking out of their Caullyons, with their Legs under

(19)

them, and not across after the Turkish Manner, observing a profound Silence. The Vizir is about thirty five Years old, and has attain'd to the Command of 1000 Men, having a fort of Colonel's Rank. In the Absence of the Governor the Vizir has a Guard of an hundred Men: These he had order'd to be drawn up on foot under the Gallery, in two fingle Lines facing each other, the Space of twenty Foot being betwixt each Line: This, no doubt, he intended as a noble Piece of Grandeur; but to us, who had feen European Guards, it appear'd a very mean Sight. We afterwards faw this Company frequently perform their Exercise by our House at Reshd. All their Disciplining, as far as we could perceive, was galloping away two or three together, and discharging their Pieces in full Speed, exactly after the Manner of the Russ Cossacks. Their Arms were old and aukward. with Match-locks; their Clothes, a white coarfe Woolen Cloth, little better than what the Russian Boors make and wear.

We return'd to the Calenter's, with whom we now began to be acquainted, and having our Rooms to ourselves we retir'd when we pleas'd. We occasion'd him more Guests than usual; perceiving that their Coming was chiefly to see us, we sate mostly in the publick Room, which was very handsome, and in the middle a Fountain playing. Among several other People of Note came three Astrologers, and with them three of their Disciples; the former were dress'd in White, with remarkable large white Turbants on their Heads, but their Disciples were dress'd in a common Persian Habit. The Persians are even to this Day great Lovers of Astrology, and pay a profound Re-

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fpect to the Profesiors of it, relying much on their Predictions. All this we were well inform'd of, and therefore took care to shew them a particular Respect; and the more, as we verily believ'd they were fent by the Vizir on purpose to give their Opinions of us: We hope they gave a favourable one, for our Linguist had unknown to us informed them that one of us was a Proficient in Astronomy, which was the Occasion of the principal Astronomer to send a Present of a Persian Calendar, very fairly written. The Vizir had order'd some of his People to go out and kill us a Deer, of which there are great Plenty in the neighbouring Mountains; at Noon they returned and brought a fine fat Buck. On this we supped, having din'd on the Calenter's Provisions. At Supper we were attended by Order of the Vizir with two Persian Musicians, who play'd on a fort of Bag-pipes, that were very untunable and shrill; and this wretched Noise we were forc'd to commend, and, what was much worse, endure it for some Hours.

Next Morning we took leave of the Calenter, and return'd to Reshd. But it being pretty late, we suffer'd much from the Heat, and were both of us something out of order, otherwise this would have been a very pleasant Journey; for on all Sides of us were Groves of most fort of Fruit-trees, and the Gardens abound with an infinite Number of Water-Melons, which were ripe at this Time. The vast Number of small Trenches which convey running Water to the Rice Fields, yielded us a very refreshing Sight in those extream Heats, as well as frequently allay'd our Thirst.

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July 1st. This Afternoon we waited on the Vizir, and again related to him the End of our coming into Persia: He being alone, we had much Discourse with him; the Result of which was, that as to the Goods we now brought with us, he faid the Shath's Merchant would buy them, and he could affure me, that he would give as much for them as any other; that if we pleas'd we might go to the Shach at Mesched, and negotiate our own Affairs; but, as we had intimated, waiting on the Shach ourselves, did not suit at present with the Disposition of our Affairs, he hinted, that if we would draw up a Petition, fetting forth what Privileges we defir'd, he would directly forward it to the Shach, who, he affured us, would grant a Decree in our Favour. It was not our Intentions to enter into any Negotiation this Year that might be the Occasion of a Decree; but finding so fair an Opportunity offer itself, we thought it would be very imprudent to neglect it, tho' it should cost us a Sum of Money; and without confiderable Expences it could not be expected. We farther confider'd, if we refus'd to accept this Decree, or Grant, when it was so kindly offer'd to us, it would certainly render all that we had faid of ourselves to be suspected, and would give the Armenians an excellent Handle against us, who, we knew, would embrace every Opportunity to injure and disappoint us: Besides, as we found the Persian Trade would very well answer, we concluded no Time ought to be loft, but that we ought to prepare the Way to enter upon it as foon as poffible; that our Friends would naturally expect this of us, who had favour'd our Journey hither,

and were determin'd to prosecute our Design and support us in it. In consequence of these Reflections we immediately embrac'd the Vizir's Offer, and return'd him our Thanks for the Honour he did us, in proposing to espouse our Interest; that we would draw up a Petition as soon as possible, and lay it before him for his Approbation.

Having taken leave of the Vizir, we came to the Shach's Merchant, who retir'd into the back Apartment, where we convers'd a long Time together. He enquir'd particularly about the Nature of our Trade; whether that Company of English Merchants which traded to St. Peterburg were the same that traded to Isaphan by way of the East Indies: We answer'd all his Questions, as we imagin'd, much to his Satisfaction, and afterwards inform'd him of the Conversation we had had with the Vizir just before, and of our Intention to fend a Petition to the Shach at Meshed to crave his Protection and free Trade to his Dominions. He reply'd, we could not do better: As our Petition related to Trade, it would be referr'd to the Shach's principal Merchant, who is his Treasurer and a Favourite. He said he would write particularly to his Master, the faid principal Merchant, concerning us, and that he was ready to do us all the good Offices in his Power. We thank'd him; and added, that it would be of fingular Advantage to us to have our Business speedily dispatch'd; if he would please to intimate the same to his Master he would do us a very great Favour, because our Stay would be but short, we intending to return by the next Vessel that fail'd for Astraçan. The

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The next Day we drew up a Petition in English, which we got translated into the Persian Language, in the best Manner we could, which is as follows.

The Humble PETITION of the BRITISH Company of Merchants, trading to the Empire of RUSSIA.

I. THAT the said Company may have Leave freely to navigate the Caspian, and may at all Times sail to and from any of the Great Shach's Ports on the Caspian with Merchandize without Restraint.

II. That the Company may at all Times import into any Part of the Great Shach's Dominions, fituate either in Persia, India or Bokhara, such Commodities and Manusactures as are the Product of Great Britain, or of any other Kingdom or Empire that may be found vendible in Persia, India and Bokhara, paying such Duty only on Importation as 'the Subjects of Persia usually pay. That they may be suffered to invest the Produce of such Merchandize as they shall import in Raw-Silk, or any other Commodity, the Product of the Great Shach's Dominions, paying such Duty on Exportation only as the Subjects of Persia customarily pay.

III. That the Company may have Leave freely to hire or buy Houses or Ware-houses in any Part of the Great Sbach's Dominions; there to dispose of their Goods to the best Advantage, without being liable to pay any other Duty than what was first paid on Importation.

IV. That the Company may have all imaginble Protection for their Persons and Effects whilst

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they shall continue in the Great Shach's Dominions, and Leave to depart thence freely at all Times, as their Occasions may require.

V. That the Company will be ready at all Times to contract with the Great Shach's Merchants for any Quantity of Cloth for the clothing the Persian Army, or any other Use, the Shach's Merchants delivering Proofs of such Cloth, the Price they will receive them at, and the Quantity they want: That when the faid Cloths shall be imported according to Contract, if the Shach's Merchants find any of them that do not come up to the Proof (or Pattern) they may reject them; but for those they shall receive, to pay ready Money. That the Merchants may dispose of those Cloths that may be refus'd immediately, or when they think fit, in any Part of the Great Shach's Dominions on the same Terms. The Company will be at all Times ready to contract with the Shach's Merchants for any Quantity of any other Sort of Commodity. The Company hope no manner of Delay will be made on the Part of the Shach's Merchants, in receiving Goods contracted for; and for all fuch Goods as shall be accepted, they expect the Money to be paid them immediately on the Delivery of the Goods, otherwife the Company will be great Sufferers, as they can't else make Returns for such Goods the fame Year.

VI. That if the Company shall contract with private *Persian* Merchants for any certain Quantity of Goods, and any Dispute shall arise about the Delivery or Payment of the same, the Governor for the same Province to decide the Disference; but if the Company shall not choose to

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abide by the Decision of the Governor, that then they may have Leave to appeal directly to the Great Schab himself.

VII. That the Company pay Duty on Goods, imported or exported, in the current Coin of Persia: But if any of their Ships shall arrive at any other of the Great Schah's Ports than Reshd, and shall not be surnish'd with Persian Money enough to discharge the Duty of such Goods as they import, then the Receiver of the Customs of such Port shall take a Bill of Exchange on the Company's House at Reshd for the Amount of such Duty.

VIII. That when the Company shall have paid Duty on Goods imported in such Portas they shall be imported into, the said Goods to be liable to no farther Duty on any Pretence whatsoever, altho' such Goods are carried from thence into any other Part of the Great Schah's Dominions.

IX. That Goods imported by the Company not for the Schah's Use, but design'd to be sold in the Inland Parts of his Dominions, may not be liable to be wholly unpack'd, but when visited by the Custom-house Officers only so far open'd as may satisfy them there is no Fraud design'd, but that the Contents of the Bales are such as they were reported to be.

X. That the Company may have a Person appointed to attend them, that on Occasion may be a Witness betwixt them and any Person they may contract with for, or sell Goods to, or for any other such Use.

We humbly crave Leave, that this our Business may be speedily dispatch'd that we may the sooner return with our Report; and that if, E through

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through the small Time allotted us to draw up this Petition, we may have forgot any material Articles, we humbly hope that we may obtain them the next Year.

Signed and Sealed M. G.

When this Petition was translated we laid it before the Vizir, for his and the Court Merchants Approbation. They were pleas'd to find no Fault with it. At the same Time we inform'd them, we had nothing to accompany our Petition worth tendering the Schah, unless a Gold Repeating-Watch (which was a very curious one) might be thought fo. They both view'd the Watch, and approv'd the fending it; for delivering a Petition in Persia without its being attended with a Present is impracticable, and indeed it is an Affront to attempt it. Having got our Petition fairly copy'd in the Persian and in the English Languages, we deliver'd both Copies and Repeating-Watch to the * Kupecheen; likewise we sent a plain Gold Watch to the Schah's Favourite and Treasurer. These were forwarded the 4th of July, by the Kupecheen's own Servant to Meshed, where the young Schab, eldest Son of Nadir Schah, refides and govern'd Perfia in his Father's Absence in India.

On our Arrival at Reshd, we found the Accounts that we had given us of the Affairs of Persia whilst we were at Astracan to be but too true, that the Schab by his Kupecheens (for he

* Kupecheen, or Coopcheen, a Court Merchant.

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hath one or more in every City in Persia) was become, in a manner, the fole Merchant or Trader in all Persia, as none but the Schah's Kupecheens could buy any Goods imported: And as to Raw-Silk, not only the Product of the Province of Gilan, but of all the other Provinces that produce Silk, was wholly engross'd by the Schah. Hence we, amongst the rest, were oblig'd to tender our Goods to the Schah's Kupecheen. Soon after that we had offer'd our Goods to him, he sent several trading People of the City of Reshd to view them, and enquire the Price, and in a few Days to give him an Account, or make their Report to him: The Kupecheen declares thereon the Price he will give for them; at the fame time he let us know, that if we liked not the Price he offer'd for our Goods, we were free to carry them to any other Market in Persia; that he wanted them not at an Under-Price, for at what the other Merchants valued them at, he was ready to give; more he could not answer. We have before observ'd, that our Goods were chiefly forted for Mesched and the Frontiers of Bokbara, and there we would fain have carried them; but then we should not have been able to have come back from Persia this Year; because before we could have return'd from Mesched to Reshd all the Vessels design'd for Astracan would have been failed.

As the Kupecheen had offer'd us the Choice of all the Markets in Persia to sell our Goods at, and as this was a Favour he granted to none but ourselves, we thought we ought not to despise it, but try if any other Merchant would give us

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a better Price than he offer'd us; therefore, after a Fortnight and more beating the Market, and finding no one would give us so much for the greatest Part of our Goods as the Kupecheen had bid us, we were forc'd to close with him as the best Customer; during which Time we had several Persian and Armenian Merchants came to view our Goods, with a Design to buy them, who were no ways influenced or awed by the Kupecheen. We met with one Armenian who was going to Mesched, and he bought Part of our Goods, and gave us considerably more than the Kupecheen had offer'd us; and on our sending to him he immediately gave us a Pass for those Goods.

The Province of Gilan, of which Reshd is the principal City, is well known to produce the best and greatest Quantity of Silk of any Province of Persia; but it is uncertain at present what Quantity it produces. The Silk-Works fuffer'd much when Peter the Great took Poffession of Gilan, as it occasion'd many of the Persian Boors to forsake their Habitations and neglect their Silk-Worms: This Injury Gilan has not yet recover'd. It is faid, that the annual Duty paid on Silk in Gilan, for some Years last past, hath been only 5000 Pood *. Whereas it is evident, this Province must have produced a much greater Quantity every Year: This, they say, came to the Schah's Knowledge, and occasion'd him to engross the Silk to himself this Year, more immediately with a View to know certainly what Quantity of Silk the Province did actually produce, than out of a Defign to monopolize that Commodity and enhance its Price;

* Pood, or 35 English Pounds.

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Price; for, according to the above Account, the Province of Gilan does not pay Duty on half the Silk it produces; and if the other Provinces act in the same Manner, then the Schah is deprived of more than half his Duty on Silk, and no Commodity pays so high a Duty as Silk, or brings so much Money into the Schah's Trea-

fury.

On the best and closest Enquiry we could make (for from what we have mention'd there can be no Reliance on the Custom-house Books) Gilan now produces not above 12000 Pood per Annum. About one half of this is consumed in Persia, and the rest is carried to the European Markets, thro' Turkey and Russia. Others say, that Gilan yields upwards of 15000 Pood of Silk; but we choose to believe the more moderate Report: Though it is certain the Silk-

Works continue greatly to improve.

Since we have so often mention'd the Prohibitions in Trade, we shall briefly relate how they came to take place, as we were inform'd. As foon as Nadir Schah had declared his Son fole Regent, or reigning Schah of Perfia, he chose for his Favourite a Merchant of Ispahan, and made him his Treasurer: This was a cunning enterprizing Man in the Vigour of his Age. It was natural for a Man of such a Cast of Mind to neglect no Occasion to enrich himself; and as one Means to do fo, he fell upon this Project of engrossing to himself all the European Imports; of all which he, by his Agents, proposed to be the sole Buyer and Seller. To enable him to carry on this pernicious Project, he proposed to the young Schah to advance him a Million of * Robles,

* A Roble is 4 s. 8 d. Sterling.

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and to allow him this Privilege he was to pay Interest for this Sum at the Rate of 30 per Cent. per Ann. and to pay off the Principal in a certain Term of Years. Also at the same time he proposed the Monopoly of all the Raw-Silk in Persia, under Pretence of preventing all Frauds in the Duty of that Commodity. The young Schab granted the Favourite his Requests, extravagant as they were, and immediately thereupon his Servants were placed in all the great Cities of Trade, under the Name of the Schah's Kupecheens: These Gentlemen enter'd on their Office about the Beginning of this Year 1739, and have in a manner put a Stop to all the Trade of Persia; particularly to that of the Province of Gilan, to which so many Persian and Foreign Merchants refort with Goods, and to buy up Raw-Silk.

This animated the People of Reshd to apply directly to the young Schah himself, and by their * Calenter boldly accuse his Favourite the Treafurer. They inform'd the Schab, That they were at any Time ready to part with their Lives and Fortunes to serve himself or Father; but as no Emergency of State laid them under fuch Hardships, they had nothing to complain of but the insatiable Avarice of the Treasurer in the new Regulations of Trade, fo they humbly hoped they might find Redress and Relief from such an unreasonable Burthen. At this the Schah was mov'd, and ask'd the Treasurer how he dare venture to deceive him in an Affair of fuch Consequence, and project such destructive Schemes only to enrich himself? The Treasurer deny'd that it was to serve his own private Ends he en-

* Calenter, or Town-Clerk.

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enter'd upon these Measures, but that he defign'd the Profits of them for his Majesty's Use; and that his Projects did not lay the Province of Gilan under such Hardships as the Calenter represented; and that what he had advanced was a mere specious Pretence, he only taking this Opportunity of disobeying the Schah's Orders; and that these were only Beginnings: Should the * Chan of Gilan and the Calenter be suffer'd thus to proceed with Impunity, his Majesty would foon find they would object against all the Orders he should send them; and that it was of his Authority, as Schab, they really complain'd, tho' they were loath to acknowledge it, and not of any Grievance his Projects had laid them under.

These Arguments so prevail'd on the Schah, (who, as young as he was, could not bear to hear of his Authority being despised) that he instantly order'd the Chan to be degraded, and the poor Calenter to be strangled. So the same Prohibitions on Trade are still continued, only with this Difference, that the Vizir now sees the Price set on those Goods the Merchants buy, and they pay for them, which has not in the least mended the Matter.

Hence it appears, that the Schah's becoming the fole Buyer of all Goods was fet on foot, and the Project of the Treasurer's, with no other View than to serve his own private Ends, and therefore it is to be hoped it won't last long; for it is of so monstrous a Kind, and such an intolerable Burthen and Perplexity on Trade, that its own Weight must soon destroy it. For supposing (what can never be expected) that the Schah's

* Governor.

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Merchants should continue to give the same Price for all Goods imported as the Persian private Merchants formerly gave, and should fell Silk at the same Price it was fold to Foreigners formerly at, and continue to pay the Boors their usual Price for it; yet would this Project thus cautiously managed be of pernicious Consequence to Persia, considering how many thousand petty Traders and Shop-Keepers would thereby be totally undone and fet a-starving, all whose Profits must now center in the Schab. These heretofore got a comfortable Subfiftence by buying some of them a Bale of Cloth or two, and other Goods, which they retail'd out; which fort of Employment much suits the Persians: But now the Schah himself, by his Agents, sells by the Meafure or Ell; and as the other Retailers must first buy out of the Schah's Ware-houses, so it can't be suppos'd they can any way find their Account in retailing at such a Disadvantage, and consequently must shut up their Shops.

It is certain, the Schah must know better than to continue Prohibitions, which, tho' never so prudently managed, must yet prove fatal to so vast a Number of his trading Subjects, and in the End destroy all the Trade of Persia. The Dissiculty is, the Danger that attends the setting the Schah right in this Matter, as appears from the Disgrace of the Governor and the Fate of the poor Calenter of Reshd so lately. This Scheme seems calculated to impoverish the Persian Merchants; for it is the same thing to a Foreigner to sell his Goods, and to buy Persian Goods of the Schah's Merchants as the Persian private Merchants, provided he can do it on the same Terms the Schah's Merchants, and must

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deal nearly on the same, or they will soon cease to trade with them. If they attempt to beat down the Price of foreign Commodities, and raise the Price of Silk, it can only ferve their Turn but once, and another Year no Foreigners will fend them any Goods, or come to buy any; and the Consequence will be, the Kupecheens will have little to do. It is generally believed the young Schah will be better informed, there being those about him, that at a proper Time will venture to fet him right about this Affair. That he is ready to redress Grievances, and encourage Trade, we could produce feveral Instances; witness the Decree or Order he fo readily granted us, and that, it is faid, he lately granted to the Armenians, which impowers them to carry their Goods to any Market in Persia, without regard to the Schab's Kupecheens, that it is to be hoped the Treasurer's Projects are near at an end.

Indeed as to the Quantity of Silk the Province produces, there's the highest Reason the Schab should be satisfied therein. Now this could not be done so easily as by engrossing all the Silk for a Year or two; and it is no new Thing, and has been done before more than once.

In order to the better understanding the Affairs of Persia with regard to Trade, 'tis necessary we should briefly relate what is here told us of Nadir Schah, who is the famous Kouli Kan; who when he deposed the late Schah, (of the ancient Schahs of Persia) and ascended the Throne about four Years since, took on himself the Title of Schah, and Name of Nadir, which signifies Wonderful. As soon as he had seated him-

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self firmly on the Persian Throne, and made Peace with the Turks, he proceeded on the India Expedition. At the same he established his eldest Son, Risa Kuli Mirza, sole Regent of the Persian Empire, commanding all the Khans, or Governors of Provinces, to regard his Son, and not himself, as reigning Schah of Persia; accordingly he has ever fince governed Persia, and continued so to the Time his Father returned from India. It is about 18 Months fince Nadir Schah took Candahar, which is esteemed the Key of the Indies on the North, and as such had been strongly fortify'd and garrison'd by the Mogul. It was likewise as well defended, for it cost Nadir Schah a Siege of eight Months to reduce it; which having done, and settled his Affairs on that Side, he marched directly forward into India, took Labor, and several other Cities, before the Great Mogul came in Person to oppose him, and put a Stop to his Victories. Not far from the City of Dalbi, the two royal Armies met, and here a very lucky Accident fell out which favoured Nadir Schah: the greatest Part of the Mogul's Army was under the Influence of a certain Raja, who commanded as Field-Marshal under the Great Mogul. The Raja being not on good Terms with the Great Mogul, on a sudden deserts him, and drew off those Troops that adhered to him, leaving his Prince with much the smaller Part of the Army, which yet much out-numbered the Enemy. The Persian Nadir apprized of this lucky Accident, did not fail to make the best use of it; and therefore instantly obliged the Mogul to give him Battle. In the Fight, the Persians put the Mogul's Army wholly to the Rout. The Great Mogul fled, and unhappily

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happily shut himself up in Dalhi, or Jonabat, as it is called, which the Nadir presently invested, and soon carried it by Storm. Here again the Mogul sled, but in vain; for being closely pursued he fell into the Hands of the Persians, and was made Prisoner.

It is generally reported, that as foon as Nadir Schah heard of the Great Mogul's being in his Possession, he sent his youngest Son in great Pomp to meet him, and conduct him to the Camp; where when he arrived, the Schab treated him with all the Respect due to a Royal Prisoner, and seated the Mogul close by himfelf, and obliged him to dispatch all the Affairs of India as if he had been still a free Prince reigning as before, without any Controul. That after having agreed on certain Terms with the Great Mogul, and fettled the Boundaries of each Empire, he re-instated him in the Possession of the Indies, and began his March back for Candabar and the Bokhara's. The Nadir immediately had this Battle and Victory proclaimed over all the Empire of Persia, with the Account of the Mogul being his Prisoner. Although it is difficult to come at the Truth of State Affairs in these arbitrary Countries, yet they do venture to fay, that the young Schah had cut off the whole Race of the ancient Schabs of Persia; for Nadir Schah left the deposed Schah alive, and all his Family, in his Son's Possession, when he left Persia and marched to India; and this, some think, was the first Step the young Schab took to secure to himself the Crown of Persia.

There was a Decree publish'd in Nadir Schah's Name, dated immediately after his Successes in India, by which he exempts all his Persian Sub-

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jects from Taxes for the enfuing three Years. The young Schah, during the Absence of his Father, took the City of Baulk, and secured the Frontiers of Bokbara, clearing them from the Ufbeck's and Turcoman Tartars, who used so much to infest the Frontiers of Khorasan, the Province in which the City of Mesched is fituated. There's a Report, that when Nadir Schab was at Ispahan, about five Years fince, (which the Joulfa Armenians affure us was the Occasion of their being obliged to leave that Place) he fent for the English Agent, and enquired of him the Nature, &c. of the English Trade, to all which the Agent gave satisfactory Answers. But these Joulfa's having afterwards infinuated to the Schah, that the Subjects of Perfia were denied free Trade to England, which yet the British Subjects enjoyed in Persia, he again sent for the English Agent, who when he came was not able to clear up this Point, why Persian Subjects were denied Trade in England, to the Schah's Satisfaction, and therefore was ordered to leave Ispahan. But a French Missionary, who was then at Reshd, allows the former Part of this Story, but denies the English were forced to leave Ispaban. He says, the Agent told the Schah, that if he would not be pleased to allow the Arrears due to the English Company on account of the Duties of Ormus, half of which had been allotted them (for Money due to them out of the Schah's Treasury) that he should be obliged to retire out of his Dominions, and carry the Company's Goods to other Markets; that the Schab giving this Agent no Redress in this Affair, the Agent of his own Accord retired from Ispahan; but that they may return when they please, and

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that they now keep up their House there. where their Broker and Interpreter now lives. He added the following unlucky Circumstances: An English East-Indiaman riding at Bender Abasse. in the Persian Gulph, a Persian General seeing the Ship ride there, and being informed she had Money on board, fent and demanded a round Sum; but the Commander of her let the Khan know he would part with no Money on any account; on this the General ordered his Boats to board the Ship, and take it by Force, which they endeavoured to do; but not being acquainted with this fort of Work, the Fire from the Ship presently funk several of their Boats, and drowned many of the People. This made them foon defift, and the Khan was forced to continue his March without the Money. About the fame Time there were two English Vessels riding at Bussora, which City is in the Possession of the Turks, but was closely befieged by the Persians. The Turks some-how surprised and got Possesfion of these two Vessels, and having mann'd them with Turks, made use of them very successfully against the Persians; after which they returned them to the English. In this Action the Persian General happened to be killed by the Fire from the English Vessels. The succeeding Commander sent Advice of this to the Schah, alledging, this Misfortune was wholly owing to the Assistance the English had given the Turks, informing also of the Affair at Bender Abasse. At this News the Schab was exceeding angry; for the General that was killed was a brave Man, and one of the Nadir's principal Favourites. The Schab sent immediately to the English Agent, then at Bender Abasse, to demand the Reasons

for these extravagant Proceedings; to all which the Agent gave reasonable Excuses. The Affair was passed over soon after Nadir Schah made Peace with the Turks, and began his March to India. Notwithstanding these Circumstances, it is our Opinion, that neither of them were the Occasion of the English Agent's retiring from Ispahan; but that it is more likely the civil Broils then subsisting, and the unsettled State of Persia, made them in Prudence to withdraw themselves. and their Effects from thence. Besides, the Schah had in a manner deferted Ispahan, his Son having established his Residence at Mesched, or Mushad. Although the English might now safely reside at Ispahan, the Storm that they dreaded being now blown over; yet, as they can't but know that the Trade from thence is now wholly transferr'd to Mesched, it would not be worth their while to return there again, or fend any more Goods. This is confirmed by all People indifferently, who have lately come from Ispahan, who tell us, that it is almost drain'd of Inhabitants. Although the Hollanders have still their Agent and House there, yet the Goods they sell are so inconsiderable, that it is thought they'll foon leave that City.

The Ispahan Trade ought greatly to have anfwer'd formerly; the Expences of the English Agent being so very great, he living with the Grandeur of a little Prince. We were told by one who had the Charge of the Stables of one of these Agents, that he had commonly three Hundred Horses, Mules, and Camels in his Stables, not one third of which were used to bring or carry Goods; but they were chiefly kept for the use of the Agent's Family. The (39)

fame Person related, that about 30 Years since. the then reigning Schab of Persia did the English Agent the Honour of a Visit, who, to shew the Schah a fingular Instance of Respect, cover'd the Road from the Court to the English House. near a Mile in Length, with Scarlet Cloth; which after the Schah's Return, was left for the Populace. Oleanius tells us, that the English Agent then in Ispahan, treated the Holstein Ambaffador with a Magnificence which was equalled by no one, fave the Schab himself. A long Time afterwards the English had great Interest at the Court of Persia; and if they han't continued to have the same, it must be intirely owing to the Neglect or Mismanagement of the Servants of the East-India Company. But these grand Proceedings redounded more to the Honour of the Nation, than to the Profit of the Company; fince the Hollanders at the same time enjoy'd the same Privileges, and maintained themselves in them at so much less Expence. Whilst we have been here at Reshd we have taken all imaginable Pains to inform ourselves of the Trade of these Parts of Persia, but we find it very difficult to get a right Information. The Persian Merchants are shy and reserved, and will not enter presently into an Acquaintance. As for the Armenians, we durst not depend too far on their Intelligence, except two or three, of whose Veracity we have had fufficient Proofs. The Trade at Ispahan is now at its lowest ebb, and as the English have already done, so must all the rest of the foreign Merchants shortly abandon it; yet this Trade is not lost, only transplanted to the City of Mesched. The Persians are still in the same want of the foreign Commodities as former(40)

ly, and still under the same Necessity of selling, or bartering away the Surplus of their own.

Ispahan owed its Wealth and Grandeur wholly to the Residence of the Persian Court there, and its Decline must necessarily follow on the Schah's withdrawing himself and Court, and giving the Preference to another City; so that Mesched is now become what Ispahan was, the Metropolis of the Persian Empire, and there the Trade of Persia must now center. But even without such a powerful Addition, as the Schah's Residence there must give to the Trade of Mesched, it was before a City of as large Extent, and Number of Inhabitants, as any one in Persia, except Ispahan itself, and this chiefly from its happy Situation in the Neighbourhood of the Bokharas's.

Mushad is very famous in the most ancient Histories of these Parts, having more than once, when she enjoyed a Khan, or sovereign Prince of her own, been Mistress of a great Part of Persia, as well as both the Bokhara's. She is now restored to her former Dignity, if she has not exceeded it. Riza Kuli Mirza, as well as Nadir Schah, do all they can to aggrandize it; they have endowed it with Privileges greater than Ispahan ever enjoyed, and use all possible Means to encourage and invite Foreigners and trading People to come and reside there. Nadir Schah thus favours Mushad, as it is the principal City of the Province of Khorasan, in which he was born, or in Calot, which is in the Neighbourhood.

The Seat of Trade in the Persian Empire being thus far removed, the Market can't be now commodiously, if at all, supplied with foreign Commodities by the same Canal, which furnished

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it; this gives a favourable Opportunity to those who are inclin'd to supply it by a better. Mesched is but eight or nine Days Journey, by Post, from Reshd, and not a Month for a Caravan; and from the Port of Astrabat not half so long: fo that the British Merchants can't desire a more inviting Occasion than the present Juncture, to enter into the Persian Trade, whilst Mesched, its Seat, is near the Caspian, and adjacent to the Province of Gilan, in the Product of which their Return must be made. But should Fortune again abandon Mesched, and the Persian Monarch desert her, yet it will never be the Interest of the British Merchants so to do, as they will always find their Account to establish their principal Mart at Mesched; here they'll be always at hand to supply the Demand of the Bokbara's, which can be no otherwise fupply'd than by the way of Persia. From Siberia the Russians can't cross the Desert, or Step, to Bokhara, on account of the Calmucks, and as it would be so tedious, and almost an impracticable Journey; nor have they ever attempted, or can they at present from * Oranberg, or any other City, or Settlement on the River Yoick, cross the Step to Bokbara, without infinite Hazard: Neither can the Bokhara's be supply'd by the way of the East-Indies, as they lie fo far inland; therefore the Bokbarans can be fupply'd with European Commodities no other way than by Mesched only. Could the British Merchants once well establish themselves in the

^{*} A new Russian Fortress on the Frontiers towards Bok-

Trade of the Bokbara's, for which the Northern Provinces of Persia would yield proper Returns, they might rest contented, and let who will supply the Southern Provinces of Persia. For who confider the vast Extent of both the Bokhara's, the Kingdom of Tibet, and Tangut, and the great Tract of Land which lies to the South-East of them, and at the same time know that they contain so many great and populous Cities, in which European Commodities are in the highest Demand, must conclude a very advantagious Trade might be settled on that Side, and might be almost infinitely extended. Nor is it in the least to be doubted, that were fuch a Trade once established, there would be found in those Parts other Commodities than Gold and coloured * Stones, to invest our Returns in for Europe, should those and the Product of Gilan be not thought sufficient. That the English may possefs themselves of this Trade, with a certain View of considerable Profit, whensoever they please, is so evident, that it would be ridiculous to go about to prove it, because they can have no Rivals in it; they have nothing to do but to fend their Goods to Petersburg, and from thence to be forwarded to Astracan, from thence cross the Caspian to Astrabat, from thence to Mesched, from which City all the Persian and Bokharan Demands would be supply'd; and this would be equally as easy and safe, as sending Goods from London to Petersburg, and we esteem more so, as we think from Experience that the Navigation of the Caspian is less subject to Danger than that of the Baltick, if

* Rubies, Saphires, &c.

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navigated with fit and proper Vessels; for even now, with the indifferent Vessels of the Russians, and more indifferent Seamen, very few ill Acceidents attend them, except a Vessel belonging to a Russ Merchant, which winter'd at Reshd, and sail'd from thence in May, with some Goods to Baku and Derbent; she was the rest of the Summer in sinding her way to the Entrance of the Volga. Hence appears the Necessity of the British Merchants having their own Vessels, and the greatest Part British Seamen, that they may be able to command their own Time and Ports.

Gilan Silk, for this two or three Years past, has been much dearer than heretofore, occasioned from the Silk of the City Ganges and Shamaky having failed, the former having been flightly visited with the Plague, and the other with the Lefginsky Tartars, and Nadir Schab; the Tartars first plundered and destroyed the Country, and the Schah having demolished old Shamaky, obliged the Inhabitants to build them a new City, some few Versts from the Ruins of the old. But as the Persian Boors of the northern Provinces find great Profit in raifing Silk-Worms, and make it their principal Care, so it's not to be doubted but those Countries will soon overcome these Injuries, as the Ganges has already, there being Silk in great Plenty at a reasonable Price. That City hath now for above this two Years been free from the Plague. As for the Security the Merchants have for their Persons and Effects, they are ever liable to the Restraints of Princes, but not more here than in any Part of Europe, as appears by the East-India Company retiring with their Goods from Ispaban unmolested, even in the worst of Times,

when there was a Revolution, and they were under the Displeasure of Nadir Schah, the Necessity of whose Affairs at that Juncture might have tempted him to have sequestred their Money and Effects. The Indians also who reside in Persia (of which there are great Numbers) are exempt from all Plundering or Imposition whatfoever, altho' it's now not above three Years fince the Schab has been engaged in a War with the Great Mogul, their Sovereign. The Armenians indeed the Schab has now and then made free with, raifing confiderable Sums of Money on them; but there are Subjects of Persia, who, according to the Custom of all arbitrary Governments, are treated at the Will and Pleasure of their Prince, yet at the same time he never laid a Restraint on their Effects in Trade. And although the Schah's Merchant was this Year the only Buyer in all Gilan, and bought the whole Quantity of Goods they had, yet he did not abate them three per Cent. on their Cloth less than what they had fold it for to the Persian private Merchants the last Year; and for their other Goods he gave them reasonable Prices; which shews the Schab is cautious of distressing even the * Armenians, in the way of Trade, which makes his Coopcheen very careful in avoiding giving them just Cause of Complaint against him. Not long fince Nadir Schah's own Brother attempted to oppress the trading People in order to raise a Contribution to himself, which coming to the Schah's Ears, he was so exceeding angry at it, it had near cost him his Head.

* The Armenians are looked on here as Jewish Subjects are in some Christian Countries.

We could give many more Instances of his Favour to his trading Subjects, but to prevent being tedious we avoid it. That the British Merchants may be affured of the same Indulgence as other foreign Merchants in Persia, or to be preferr'd before them, there's all the Reason to expect. because no other Merchants can supply the N.E. part of Persia, with those Commodities most in Demand, at so easy a Price, or can afford to give so much for their Silks. This all the Armenians and Persians are well acquainted with, which alarms the former, and makes the latter our Friends. Of this we shall give this particular Instance. As soon as we had informed the Schah's principal Merchant of our Defign to petition his Majesty, he called together all the chief of the Merchants in Reshd to hold a Conference with them: the Question he propos'd was, Which deserved the greatest Encouragement, the English or the Armenian Merchants? When it was unanimously determined in our Favour. This we were informed of both from the Persians and Armenians who were at the De-

Since the Schah's Court has been removed from Ispahan to Mesched, the Market of the latter has been but scantily supply'd with European Commodities, therefore they are desirous to give us the greatest Encouragement to come to Mesched, well knowing this Market can be no otherways well furnish'd than by the English Merchants through the Empire of Russia, the Empress of which hath a Consul and a Minister at Ispahan. Hence it comes that there are going and returning all the Summer Russ Vessels, which carry Dispatches to and from Astracan to Reshd,

August 11. We had intended to have left Reshod this Week, and a Dutch Servant, with about 1000 Rubles worth of Effects, to be invested in Silk, and to have follow'd us the first Opportunity; but the Coopcheen told us, the Money was ready for our Effects when we pleas'd to take it, but that he was much furpris'd to hear we intended to leave Persia before the Decree we petition'd for was granted us, which he was certain would not be long before it arriv'd; that he apprehended that the Vizir could not answer to let us return before the Decree should arrive, or until he should receive particular Instructions how to act concerning us. This new and furprizing Discourse alarm'd us, that we resolv'd to go directly to the Vizir, with whom we remonstranced, that our Intentions were to return in her Czarian Majesty's Packet, that would fail in about a Week. After some Consideration he made Answer, that it seem'd strange to him, that we should propose to leave Persia without an Answer to our Petition, when he had affur'd us, that we might expect a Decree in our Favour, and that we fhould return and leave undone the principal Thing for which we faid we came here, when we might so easily obtain it. He confess'd he was at a Loss to reconcile this with the rest of (47)

our Behaviour, which hitherto had given intire Satisfaction. He feared that we must lately have taken some Disgust at the Country, which made us thus fuddenly refolve to return and leave our Affairs unfinish'd. This might proceed from some Infinuation of the Armenians, whom he wish'd we would not give too much Credit to; or if we had not met the Honours we expected, he was very forry for it. He added, he should have been to have waited on us himself, and invited us to have been his Guests, but that he had scarce Time to dispatch the Schah's Business, which had prevented him in both. To this we replied, that we returned him Thanks for the many Favours that we had received from him, which were more than we could have expected, and as many as we could defire; that as to the Armenians we conversed but very little with them, and that they had no Influence on us fo as to forward or retard our Return; that could we have had the Honour to have carried back with us the Schah's Decree, it would have been a fingular Happiness; that we had now tarried twice the Time he was pleased to intimate the Decree would arrive in; and that as so great a Monarch as the Schab could not but have infinite Business of more moment, we fear'd our Petition might be esteemed a Matter of private Concern; it might be a long Time before it came to be read or consider'd, at least fo as to obtain an Answer; and the more Cause we had to fear it, was, as we had no Friend at Court to follicit for us; and that should the Schah condescend to grant a Decree in our Favour, we should leave a fit Person, who belong'd to us, to receive it, and proceed directly with it

^{*} The last Packet-boat sails for Astracan about the latter end of August, and none after till the next Spring.

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to Petersburg; that we flatter'd ourselves this would be permitted us, as our Orders were to return this Autumn, and on no account whatsoever to winter in Persia, and we dare not act contrary to our Instructions, which were positive. All this we begg'd the Vizir to consider, and not insist on our tarrying for the Decree, which could as well come after us; whereas should we be obliged to tarry for it, we should act contrary to positive Orders, and lose a whole Year's time.

Upon this the Vizir paused some time, and consulted with his Deputy Mustapha and others, who attended on him, and made Answer, That one of us surely might tarry, and do Honour to the Schah's Decree, which he was certain would arrive in a short Time, and that the other might return, and make a Report of our Affairs. We told him, that as this Proposal was intirely new, we could make no immediate Answer, but desir'd that we might have Time to consider of it, and we would return him our Answer in the Evening.

When we came home we consulted with ourselves, and finding that there was an absolute
Necessity that one of us should stay, and, according to the Persian Expression, do Honour
to the Decree by the Manner of receiving it,
we resolved, that Mr. Graham should tarry here.
On this we sent the Vizir Word by our Linguist, as we had promis'd, and the next Morning waited on him ourselves, and told him, that
Capt. Elton came to take his Leave of him. After some Consultation with those about him, he
ask'd, Why he would not be so kind as to tarry
with them for the Decree? Our Answer was,
That if Mr. Graham returned, he could only

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made Report of Affairs of Trade, and could give no satisfactory Account of the Caspian, on which the Success of our future Designs so much depended, and to which End Mr. Elton, as a Seaman, was particularly fent; and that if one of us should return, our Principals would on that Account undoubtedly expect it should be him; and it would be but a poor Excuse to write them word that he was detain'd here against his Will. He evasively made answer, That when the Decree did arrive, it would be directed to Mr. Elton, and could be deliver'd to none else. This look'd so like Art fice to detain him, that his Design so to do was very plainly seen, that it was in vain to use many Words; that our Reply was, We would confider of it, and give him our Answer in a few Hours. We return'd home not very well pleased, not knowing what the Vizir's Meaning could be in proceeding with us in this Manner, fo we immediately sent for an Armenian or two, in whom we knew we could confide, and enquired of them concerning the Vizir's Conduct towards us; they faid, it was not in the Vizir's Power to let Mr. Elton return until such Time the Decree we had petition'd for should arrive, or at least an Answer to our Petition; for if the Schah should condescend to grant us a Decree, the Courier that should bring it would deliver it to none but Mr. Elton, to whom it would most certainly be address'd; that if the Courier could not readily find him, he would demand him of the Vizir, and if he could not produce him, he would carry the Decree back, and make his Report accordingly; or it might happen, that an Order would be sent for Mr. Elton to come to H

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the Schah at Mesched. In either Case it would be very unlucky for the Vizir if he was not to be found, as Mistakes of this kind in Persia are feldom forgiven. Being convinced that these were the true Reasons for detaining Mr. Elton, made us something easier, tho' we were well affured (which gave us no little Concern) that his being obliged to winter there would be of great Prejudice to our future Defigns, and would probably postpone them a Year. However, as his Stay was absolutely necessary, we waited on the Vizir the same Evening, and told him, fince he was so desirous that Capt. Elton should tarry to do Honour to the Schah's Decree, we were content; but that if our Principals should send no Goods next Year, or should refuse to enter on the Trade on account of the Captain's being detain'd, he would not reflect on us, but take the Blame to himself; but that we hoped, that after the Decree was arrived the Captain should not be detain'd an Hour. He promised he would not keep him a Moment; and that if no Opportunity should then present for him to cross the Caspian, he would immediately dispatch him by Post, and give Mr. Graham a Convoy quite to the Russian Frontiers, all at the Schah's Expence. On this Mr. Graham took leave of the Vizir, and prepar'd for his Return to Petersburg; but on the 15th of August the New Governor of Gilan made his Entry into Reshd. We did not wait on him the same Day, as we knew he would not have Time to talk with us; and as it's necessary, according to Custom, to send him some Present. At the same time we heard a Courier was come from Mesched, (51)

who enquired for the English Merchants; about Noon the Courier came with the Decree the Schah was pleased to grant us: We were obliged to meet him at the outer Door of our Court-Yard, when he deliver'd it, Capt. Elton with some Ceremony, taking it in both his Hands, touching his Forehead with it; and the Captain was obliged to receive it in the same Manner, and do it the same Obeysance.

In the Evening our Acquaintance came to congratulate us on receiving the Decree; though we believe none of them thought that we should ever obtain it. According to their Custom, we presented the Courier who brought the Decree with a compleat Persian Habit, which he wore all the Time he staid at Resta in Honour of us: When our Servant deliver'd him the Habit, he forced him to accept of three Gold Ducats, which the Servant by our Order refusing, he told him he would not accept of it on any other Terms, so he was obliged to take the Money. The Decree translated is as followeth.

UR high Commandment confifts in this, That we have condescended to grant the underwritten Petitioners the Contents of their humble Petition. And by this be it known unto you, most excellent Beglerbeys, most honourable Governors and Commanders of our Empire of all Irah (which resembles Paradise) our Country of Baulk and its Dependencies: Whereas some honourable English Merchants have arriv'd here from the Empire of Russia, we have given them Liberty, and hereby allow them to land their Goods with all Freedom in all, or any of our Ports on the Caspian Sea, and from H 2

thence to carry them to any Market in our Empire, particularly to our Provinces of Khorafan, Irak, Farse, Vaussier, Bodshaun, Vized, Kerman, Baulk, Andiboad Shabran, and to the Bank of the River Ama, and to the Confines of Badagshan, Cabul, Caswin, Pstagne, to the Empire of India, and the Banks of the River Attukau; and that they shall be permitted and indulged to purfue their Journeys with their Merchandise without the least Interruption or Disturbance, we having order'd all our Subjects to give them all reasonable Assistance. And when they have determin'd at any Port or Place to open their Goods, and expose them to Sale, they may at all times do fo without Interruption, and what remains unfold they are left at Liberty to carry or transport where they please, in Vessels or in Loads; only such Duties as are customary shall be taken, and by no Means any more shall be exacted from them. If these English Merchants defire to buy up any Commodities of our Empire for Exportation, they shall meet with no manner of Hindrance; but they shall find the fame Indulgence as any other Merchants whatfoever. When their Vessels or Goods happen to arrive at any Place, where there shall be no English House, or Consul, if they have no Inclination to land their Goods, no Force shall be used to oblige them to land them, or shall they on any Pretence be detain'd, paying the ordinary Duty, and taking a Receipt for the fame. If it should so fall out, that they have no Money ready to pay the Duty on the Goods they shall import into any other Port than Reshd, then they may give their Assignment on their House at Reshd. If they shall have Occa(53)

fion to buy or hire Vessels for the carrying of or bringing on Shore their Goods, the Commanders of our Ports are commanded to give them all manner of Affistance herein. If these Merchants defire to fell their Goods out of their own Ouarters, Houses, or Warehouses, We give them full Power so to do, and let none have the Asfurance to interrupt them, under Pretence their Goods have not been regularly view'd by the Custom-house Officers. But at the same time we expect, that they will not offer Goods to Sale which have not paid Duty, or been regularly view'd at our Custom-house, to the Injury of our Revenues. If the English Merchants defire to hire or buy Houses in Reshd, or any other Port or Place, in that we shall give them all reasonable Assistance; allowing, however, the Inhabitants of fuch Places their Liberty, none of which shall be constrain'd to part with their Houses against their Inclination; and they shall treat the English with all imaginable Civility and Respect.

If any of the Goods they shall import shall be thought proper for our Use by our Commissaries, such may be taken for us at the same Price they shall be sold to other People for, our Commissaries paying ready Money; and they shall not be oblig'd to part with, or deliver any Goods but for ready Money: And in such Payments let none dare to give them any Trouble, on pain of our highest Displeasure. Whatsoever Goods they shall import that shall not be thought proper for our Use, they have free Liberty to sell them to whom they please, without Hindrance or Delay, and these the English Merchants

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have Leave to ship off, or to carry them to what

Place they choose.

If any Differences happen in their Trade, and it come to a Trial, or Hearing, the Commanders of that Place are order'd to give immediate Sentence without Partiality. In what soever Port the English Merchants shall pay their Duty, there they shall have given them a written Discharge, in which shall be set forth, for what Quantity of Goods they have paid Duty, and the Amount of the said Duty, that they may not be liable to pay Duty for them again in any Port or Place. The Customhouse Officers are not to break open or unpack their Bales, but to take the Merchant's Words for the Content of them, that they may sustain no Damage.

In whatsoever Province the English Merchants shall arrive, the most excellent Beglerbeys, and others, our most honourable Commanders, are hereby order'd to shew them all imaginable Respect, nor to allow or suffer any Person whatsoever to affront or molest them.

And seeing the Petitioners are only acquainted with the European Language, and that they can't confer with our Subjects without an Interpreter, it is necessary therefore that their Brokers be Men acquainted with both Languages. If then they desire such Interpreters, whoever they shall chuse, even if they are Christians, they are at Liberty to make use of such without Restraint.

The Petitioners are received under our most gracious Protection, and the Watch which they sent is received; and as a Mark of our Favour, by the Bearer hereof, we present them with Fifty Robles. And we hereby order our high trusty Treasurers and Regulators of our Empire to register

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register this our high Decree, and to put it in Execution, under Pain of our highest Displeasure. Written in the Month of *Inmadi al avul*, or the Beginning of August, 1152 Years.

> RESAU. GULLE. MISSAS. SEAL.

On the 16th of August, in the Forenoon, we waited on the New Governor, at whose Levee we found all the principal Persons in Town, to the Number of Fifty or more, all fitting in one Room. He received us very kindly, bidding us welcome, and faid he was glad that the English thought well to come and trade at Gilan; immediately Chairs were brought us to fit down. We presented him with the Decree the Schab had granted us, which he received very respectfully, standing up whilst he received it, and taking it in both Hands, touched his Forehead with it, which having done he fat down: This was an Honour particularly due to the Decree, and when the Governor rose to receive it the whole Company did the like. The Governor read the Decree to himself, and then gave it the Vizir to read, who also read it to himself. When it was return'd to us, the Governor faid he would fend a Writer of his to our House to copy the Decree, which Copy should remain in his Chancellary, as an authentick Copy at all times to be referr'd to; and from which other Copies would be taken and fent to the other Governments of the Empire. Supposing we had now done all our Business, we were for taking

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leave, when the Governor asked Capt. Elton, who would tarry here and take care of our Affairs? We answer'd him, that our Effects that we had then were not fo confiderable but that we might leave them with our Servant, who would tarry until our Return, which we hoped would be early in the Spring. He reply'd, he should think it much better that one of us should tarry, and then if the Schah should fend to enquire of us concerning our Country, or the Nature of our Trade, one of us would be present to fatisfy him in his Enquiries, which he doubted if any Servant could do. We instantly saw the Governor and the Vizir had had a Conference about us, and came to a Resolution to detain us both if possible, therefore we thought it to very little Purpose to use Arguments; however, we parted upon it, and confulted betwixt ourselves, on which Mr. Graham consented to tarry. Mean while the Governor faid, that whoever of us staid behind he would do all in his Power to make Gilan agreeable to him. All this Time the Vizir and Mustapha were whispering with the Governor, to whom we address'd ourselves, That fince it appear'd so convenient to him that one of us should tarry, tho' we must confess we could not in Pursuance of our Instructions, yet, as it was the Governor's Pleasure, we were willing to take that as a sufficient Reason, and therefore Mr. Graham consented to stay: He said, he would take it as a particular Favour if Capt. Elton would stay with them, and fend Mr. Grabam back. This so unexpected a Request a little shock'd the Captain, as knowing his wintering there would in a manner prove fatal to their Defign; but as they had a Decree in their Fa(57)

vour, they thought they might act with more Resolution than they had done formerly in treating with the Vizir; fo Mr. Elton told the Governor, he would be very willing to tarry with him; as well to comply with what he was pleas'd to request, as to fave himself the Fatigue of so tedious and long a Journey, as it was from Reshd to Petersburg; but that the Necessity of their Affairs would by no Means permit him; so he begged he might be excused. But the Governor, by the Vizir's and Mustapha's Infinuations, as might be plainly seen by their Behaviour on this Occasion, still infifted on the Captain's tarrying, which being so unreasonable, animated him to make a short Reply, which was, That as the Schah having condescended to grant us a Decree, we had staid and done all the Honour to it we were capable of, therefore now we had nothing to do more at Reshd but what Mr. Graham could dispatch; that our principal Affairs lay now at Petersburg, and thither we must return this Year, or a Period might be put to this new Undertaking, and that as I was apprized of this I could never consent to tarry; that if he had any Distrust or Suspicion, then it were better that he kept us both here in Arrest until he could have an Answer from the Persian Ambassador, M. Golafa at Petersburg, concerning us; that the Captain hoped he would excuse him for saying again, that he could never consent to winter here, seeing it would inevitably be the Ruin of all their Defigns, and would render the Schah's Decree in their Favour of no Effect. To which the Governor immediately reply'd, God forbid that he should detain him a Moment against his Will; that since the Necessity of our Affairs would not permit

it, he heartily wish'd him a good Journey, and that he should find at his Return, by the Reception Mr. Graham should meet with, the Civilities that he had intended me, could I have tarry'd with them. So the Debate ended; after which he made us feveral Compliments, which we endeavour'd to return. The Vizir and Mustapha look'd very much disconcerted at Mr. Elton's absolute Refusal to stay; their Intention being to have detain'd the Captain, never thinking that he would venture to carry things to such Extremity; but they were mistaken, there being a vast deal of Difference betwixt talking with a Decree in one's Hand, and talking when we were foliciting for one; all which they feemed unapprized of until they found it fo.

The Design of the Vizir and Mustapha in detaining the Captain (which may in some manner excuse them) appear'd to us in this Light.

The Persians are a subtil and jealous People, and on our proposing to return and not wait for the Schah's Decree, they concluded that we had certainly taken some Disgust at their Country, and would come no more there to trade; and that our Distaste must proceed from our not having found the Silk Trade and the Markets of Persia free as formerly, but in a manner all engross'd by the Schah. At the same time they could not but consider of what Benefit our Trade to their Country would be to them, and therefore how defirous the Schab would be to have us carry on a Commerce through his Dominions. Should we therefore refuse to return again to trade, it would not only be a confiderable Loss to their Country, but, what more immediately concern'd them, they forefaw fuch a Neglect of (59)

ours might produce an Inquiry fatal to them both; for when the Schah should come to find that we slighted his gracious Decree, it would not be possible for the Vizir and Mustapha to clear themselves, by faying, they were ignorant why we returned not. The Schah would take it for granted, that their Mismanagement was the Reason, and for a small Mistake in Persia a Man often pays no less a Fine than his Head; of this both the Vizir and Mustapha had a very recent Example in the Fate of their Father. Hence it came, that the Governor and they were willing to act as fecure as possible in case of Accident, and had therefore rather have detained the Captain than Mr. Graham; but we have no Reason to think he had any Order from the Schah to detain either of us, on the Captain's infifting in the strongest Terms to depart. They thought they had gained a Point, that they had prevailed over one of us to be willing to tarry with them; for in our Debate the Governor often faid, that it was his Advice, that one of us should tarry here, and that he begg'd it as a Favour to be his Guest whilst the other returned.

Although the *Persians* are very courteous in their manner of speaking, yet these were such complaisant Expressions, that the Governor, being so great a Person, would not have condescended to have made use of, had he had any Authority from his Prince to have detain'd either of us. Likewise we knew from the Stile and Force of our Decree, that if we insisted on returning, that he could not have kept any one of us; therefore it was only out of a Precaution, or to make a Merit of it, that they had persuaded one of us to tarry with them in *Reshd*. But as our Inten-

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tion

Defign we first came about, so we were obliged to have a regard for the suture, and not by our Obstinacy make all those in Power there, our Enemies for ever after. On this Consideration, since it was so much desired, that one of us should consent to tarry in Persia, we hoped it would appear to all our Friends as necessary as it did there to us. In the Asternoon we sent to the Governor for a Pass for Mr. Elton, and an Armenian Servant that attended him, which was immediately sent, on which he took Leave of the Governor, Vizir, Mustapha, and the Coopcheen. Mr. Graham and some Armenian Friends accompanied the Captain to Perre Buzzar.

On the 19th of August, early in the Morning, he got to Zinzelle Village, where the Packet-boat which belonged to the Czarina lay in the Road ready for us, having got over the Bar the Night before. The Russ Consul came on board our Smack to give her his Dispatches; the Weather was calm and pleasant.

On the 22d of August we weighed, and left Zinzelle Road, having a light Breeze Westerly. For want of Exercise the Captain had been sally troubled with the Scurvy ever since he left Saratoff (it is a reigning Distemper with the Europeans in those Parts of Persia.) Having left the Land he betook himself to his Sea Journal.

On the 17th of September they arrived in Chettery Bugara Road, where the Guard-Ship of her Czarian Majesty lay at the Entrance of the Volga. The next Day in the Afternoon he went on Shore on the Island, where the commanding Officer and a Surgeon came to view us, to see if we were free from all Symptoms of the Plague,

(6r)

and make their Report: The Orders on which were, that we should perform a fix Weeks Quarentine; but it had been a Custom of the Admiralty for a Year past, not to suffer the Empress her Servant to be detained, but to go immediately to Astracan, and only to keep the Passen-

gers.

On the 4th of October a Smack of the Czarina's arrived, which was the last which came this Year. She had 200 Bales on Board belonging to Armenians and Indians, for Confumption in Russia, but no Silk but what belonged to us. She had been three Weeks in her Passage. Another Vessel arrived the 12th of Ostober, who had winter'd the Year before at Reshd, but she had been the whole Summer in finding her way hither, as mentioned formerly. At Baku she took in some Copper, and Silk from Shamaky, and afterwards filled up with Wine from Derbent. The mentioning of these Vessels gives again Occasion to speak of the Caspian, which we have before intimated, is a very fair Navigation: The Northern Parts are navigable nine Months in a Year, and the Southern all the Year round. From Chettery Bugara Island to Zinzelle is about 168 Leagues, although the whole Length of the Caspian. And as one Wind will serve, so it won't be esteemed a Week's Run for a fullbuilt Vessel; and some of the Czarina's Vessels, which are as full as close Lighters, have made that Passage in less than five Days. From Chettery Bugara to Astrabat is not 190 Leagues on a plain Course, so that it may be consider'd as the same Distance as to Zinzelle. Astrabat is a Port the Russians have visited now and then, but never frequented, for no Russ Vessels whatwhatfoever at this time go any farther than Zinzelle, although Astrabat is equally as good a Road and Haven, and as great a depth of Water on its Bar as Zinzelle.

Resolution the Armenians made this City their principal Market, and this is what occasions the Russ Veffels which bring the Armenians and their Goods over from Astracan, all to refort to Zinzelle, which is the Sea Port of Reshd. Zinzelle and Astrabat are the only Ports the British Vessels will be under a Necessity of frequenting on the Persian Side, and they happen to be two of the best Havens on all the Caspian, they being but a Week's Run, although ordinarily a Fortnight from Astracan. When the English Merchants come to be posses'd of Vessels of their own, they may manage the Trade to and from Persia as they find most to their Advantage; at present we will suppose the following manner.

All Goods defigned for Zinzelle or Astrabat must be forwarded from Petersburg by the beginning of February, that they may arrive at Saratoff on the Volga about the end of that Month, at which Time the Volga is there open, and about the Beginning of April these Goods may probably arrive at Astracan, or at Chettery Bugara; if a proper Vessel lay ready to take them in, they may very well arrive at Zinzelle or Aftrabat before May. These Goods may be fold at Reshd or Mesched by the middle of July, and by the middle of August the Returns may be invested in Silk, the Product of the same Year; this Silk may be shipp'd off before the end of August, at Zinzelle; and if the Vessel that takes them in fails directly, then before the end of (63)

September they may arrive at Astracan; in October they may reach Saratoff, from thence by Sledge-way, and arrive at Petersburg the begin-

ning of January.

This is supposing no Quarentine is required on Goods coming from Gilan; but if such Goods are required to perform a three Months Quarentine, then they will arrive three Months later in Petersburg, that is, about the 1st of April; this is Time enough to be shipp'd off by the first Ships that fail that Year for London; nay altho' it were the middle of May, it is sooner than the Ice is out of the River Neva; and had these Goods arrived even in December, they must have remained for the same Ships, so in this Case the Quarentine seems to be no hinderance. But the above State of the Case supposes that Goods fent to Persia meet with an immediate Market, and that their Returns can be as immediately invested in Silk, both which may not happen, and then the Quarentine would be of a very great Disadvantage. As for Example, Goods arriving in Gilan in May, perhaps shan't be sold till the January following; and then the Returns of those Goods in Silks can't be shipp'd from Zinzelle till the beginning of March, and arrive about the latter End at Astracan; and by reason of the Quarentine they can't be forwarded from thence until the end of June; at Saratoff they can't arrive before August, nor in Petersburg before the end of September; although this is Time enough to be shipt off for London; but the Returns from thence can't be made until the next ensuing Spring; so that the Opportunity of sending these Goods time enough to arrive by the Winter-way at Saratoff is lost, by being four Months

The Quarentine, whilst it continues, necessitates us to fell our Goods that we import into Gilan, within the Space of two Months, or else we can't make our Returns to and from Gilan to London in less than three Years. Did no Quarentine interfere they might be made in two, and the Merchants have eight Months time to difpose of their Goods; so that the Continuation of the Quarentine on Goods coming from Gilan make a surprising Difference, the Profit being so much lessened thereby, that all Means must be used to get that removed; and it is likewise the Interest of the Czarina to have it done on account of the Encouragement it will give to us to carry on the Trade largely and with Dispatch, whereby her Customs, &c. will increase in Proportion.

It is to be observed, that the Northen Provinces in Persia which produce the most and best fort of Raw Silk (from whence the Southern Provinces, and the Silk Manufacturies at Mefched are supply'd, besides the great Quantity that goes to Turky) are three; as Gilan, the chief City is Reshd; Sherman, whose chief City is Shamaky; Arrash, whose chief City is Ganges. The two former of these Provinces are on the South-west Shoar of the Caspian, and the latter is adjacent to them, not far from the Caspian; that they could not hear that any English woolen Goods, either from the India Company, or the Turky, ever reached Mesched, but only Holland woolen Cloths brought by the Armenians; whereas a Trade to that Place with our woolen Cloth might, (49)

might, in a fhort Time, be the most considerable Branch of the English woolen Trade; nor is it unlikely that we may come to cloath the Schah's Armies, which are numerous, as we can bring it much cheaper than any other Nation, and afford to give more for their Raw Silk, &c. Besides we can send Lead, Pewter, Bar-Tin, which the Persians are now supply'd with from the India and Turky Company's Settlements.

The Persians and Armenians, in the Delivery of their Cloth, reckon ten Russ Arsheens to make seven Persian, which is as 1 to 1.428, accounting the Persian Arsheen $\frac{25}{1000}$ greater than we found it with regard to the Russian, or 21.6s. per Cent.

In their Bills of Exchange the Armenians reckon Persian Money to be 30 per Cent. better than Russ Money; so that for 100 Rubles Russ Money paid in Astracan, they pass their Bills payable in Gilan but for 70 Rubles Persian Money.

A Persian * Zolotnick is $\frac{1}{12}$ of a Russ Zolotnick; a Persian common Batman contains 1280 Persian Zolotnicks, or 14 Pounds, Russ 5454; a Persian Silk Batman contains 1200 ditto, or 13 Pounds, 6363; so that three Silk Batman weigh 40 Pounds, 9029 Russ. We found a Persian Schah's Arsheen to be 39.4 English Inches, so that a Russ Arsheen is to a Persian as 1 to 1.402.

Hence, if the Persian Ruble be 30 per Cent. better than the Russ Ruble, the Persian Arsheen exceeds the Russ Arsheen 42.85 per Cent. according to the Armenians.

* 96 Russ Zolotnicks to an Ounce Troy Weight.

S O M E

ACCOUNT

OFTHE

Rise and Successes

O F

THAMAS KOULI KAN,

KING of PERSIA.



CHAH Thamas, who was then called the Prince, had, after feven Years Misfortune, got together an Army of about 30,000 good Soldiers out of the Northern Provinces, under a very good General (a) Thamas Kan, who in June 1729 defeated the (b) Ab-

(a) Now the famous Schah Nadir, or Kouli Kan.
(b) A People that join'd the Ofgoons to conquer Persia, under Meer Mahomet, the Son of Meer Wise.

(52)

dalles intirely in feveral fet Battles, and took their chief City Hyraut, which lies to the North of Persia. This News soon reached Ispahan, and being greatly exaggerated according to the particular Custom of Persia, as also the Number of the Kan's Forces, so alarmed (c) Horroff, who was then in Possession of Ispahan, a Man of known Bravery, that he very imprudently took a Resolution to go in quest of the Prince before he should grow too strong (who then had no Thoughts of turning his Force that way until the next Spring.) Accordingly Horroff, in the beginning of August, set out with an Army of 35,000 Men, composed of Ofgoons, and (d) Dongazances, and in twenty-five Days march met and engaged the Prince's Forces, who so intirely routed him, that he flew back to Ispahan in half the Time.

This happy and unexpected Event determined the Prince to pursue this Victory, and to send his General with his Forces to provoke him to another Engagement. Horroff thought it best for him to try his Fortune in the Field, but being dubious of the Event, before he left the City, he packed up all the Royal Treasury and Jewels, ready to carry with him in case he should be routed, and at the same Time massacred all the principal Inhabitants he could find, to the Number of 2800. The (e) English and Dutch Agents he ordered to come into the new Walls the Ofgoons built at the first taking the

(c) A Kinsman and Successor of Meer Mahomet, who took Ispahan.

(e) Mr. Cockell was then the English Agent.

City,

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City, and put them into the (f) Caravansera Shaw, in the Kiserce, under a Guard.

1729. The next Battle was on the 2d of November, in the Morning, in which he had no better Fortune than in the former; the News of which was at Ispahan at Noon, though at Forty Miles distance. He, with some few scattered Forces, did not arrive till Night, and going to his Palace he fat himself down in his (g) Chebilsitoon, very much dejected; the Naib, or Prime Minister came to him, and ask'd him what he did there, that the Persians were at the City Gates; upon which he loaded his Treasury, and that Part of his (b) Haram which he defigned to take with him, and fled in fuch a precipitate manner, that he never thought of the English and Dutch Merchants, to their great Joy. This Opportunity they would not flip, having before bribed the Guard to be in the greater Readiness to embrace a favourable Opportunity; they flipt away early in the Morning, Sword in Hand, to the Company's House. At Noon the City was all in an Uproar; what Persians were hid, and in the adjacent Places, came in great Numbers to plunder; and it was at the rifque of their Lives they faved the Company's House.

Schah Thamas's General did not arrive till three Days after, and had he only fent 6000 Men after the Ofgoons, he had intirely deftroy'd them. Horroff, after he had gone two or three Leagues, and faw no one coming after him, fent back his Athama Doulet (or Prime Minister) with a Par-

(f) A Royal Inn near his Palace.

(g) A Hall belonging to his Palace, called fo from having 40 Pillars in it.

(b) His Women.

⁽d) A Nation that joined the Ofgoons, after they revolted, and set up for themselves.

ty to maffacre as many as he could, and fire the City: But just as he got to the Royal Gardens, a Mile from the City, somebody amongst the Mo. bile wifer than the rest, rightly thinking that they came with no good Defign, order'd the Drums to be beat, which threw them into fuch a Pannick, that they were glad to make the best of their way back, imagining that the Prince's Forces had taken Possession of the Town.

Horroff's first Design was to go to (i) Carmenia, but after five or fix Days march, hearing that Road was made impassable, went to Shirass, a large City (about 200 Miles from Ispahan, and 30 from old Persepolis, in the Road to Gombroon) but in such a Fright, that they dropt great Numbers of their Women and Children on the Road, which the Persians, as they met with, killed. On his Arrival at Shirass he burnt the City, put the Inhabitants to the Sword, and took Possession of the Castles.

In the mean Time Schah Thamas, instead of pursuing the Ofgoons remained two Months in Ispahan, levying of Money in a very rigorous manner to fatisfy his greedy Soldiers, which made almost every one repent of the Change. However, about the latter end of December he went after Horroff; they met near Shirass, where, after an obstinate Battle, Horroff was entirely defeated, but he himself escaped with his Treasure, and about 2000 Ofgoons, and took their Rout to the Bamouchees, a People that live chiefly on Robberies. At last he was killed by a Party of the Hossem Caus, who immediately after rendered

(i) A Province where the Wool of that Name comes from, about 400 Miles from Ispahan.

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their Obedience to Schah Thamas, who fleeced the Inhabitants of Shirass of every thing the Ofgoons had left them; from thence he continu'd his March to Hamadon, near which Place he de-

feated a Party of the Turks.

The Schah on his Return to Ispahan made Thamas Kan his Vachert Doulet, the greatest Post a Subject can enjoy, he having the fole Administration of Affairs, and gave him his Seal: On which he carried it with so high a Hand, that it was foon feen that he had the Crown in view, and that the King began to be heartily tired of him, as well as every body else, for he had asfum'd an unlimited Power; but as he was engaged in a vigorous War against the Turks, the Schah was afraid to fend for his Head. To fuch an Height did this Man raise himself, chiefly by his undaunted Courage; for it was not ten Years past, that he was only a Camel-man in the Province of Corasan, where he was born; to which Place he sent a prodigious Treasure with the Schah's Sifter's Aunt, whom he had given him to Wife, and one of the Schah's Sifters, whom he had fent for a Wife for his Son. Had the Kan's Defigns against the Turks prov'd unfuccessful, it was everybody's Opinion he must have gone over to them with what Forces he could have prevail'd upon to follow him, he having fo utterly ruin'd and destroy'd every Place he passed thro', that nobody would have been able to make head against him.

All this Time the Russians were Masters of the Province of Gilan, and used all the Inhabitants fo well, that they had no other Concern but the Fear that it should fall under the Persian Go-

vernment again.

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Persia being in this distracted Condition, the English Merchants endeavour'd all they were able to repair to Gambroon; but after using their utmost Efforts found it impracticable, and the more so from the Villainy of one Stephen, their Linguist, who during the late Revolution, when the Ofgoons had the Government, imagining that they could do nothing without him, obliged them to chuse one Hemet in his Place, which provoked him to do them all the ill Offices in his Power.

The Dutch, during the Siege, before the Ofgoons took the City, got prodigious Riches by the Sale of a vast Quantity of Sugar for Money and Jewels, for which Schah Mahomed imprisoned and fined them very extraordinarily; yet they made a confiderable Figure, tho' they pretended to be poor. The Armenians put many of their Effects under the Protection of the Dutch, which were most of them discover'd and seized: And what with Losses they had by Sea, and none of their Factors returning from India, and others not return'd from other Parts, it was reckoned their Women exceeded them twenty to one in number. Horroff enquir'd much after the King's Mother, but could never hear of her; she was kept privately alive by the old Eunuch in the Haram like a Servant.

Now let us turn our Eye to Thamas Kan. After he had beat the Ofgoons at Shirass, he went against the Turks, whom he defeated in several set Battles, and retook *Ahmadoon and Tabreez: When the Abdallers, join'd with the Ofgoons, seized upon Hyraut, upon which he left the King in Ispahan without any Forces, taking all along

* A large City on the Road to Babylon, and about nine Days Journey from Ispahan.

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along with him to attack the Turks, whom he intirely defeated in a fet Battle, and retook the City of Hyraut. In the mean time Schah Thamas got together, as well as he could, an indifferent Army, left Isphaban in October and retook two Castles from the Ofgoons, and encreased his Army in his March in the Depth of a fevere Winter to Tabreez, and in the Spring to Errivan, where he engaged and routed a large Body of Turks and befieged the Castle; but the Country thereabouts being quite ruin'd and unable to furnish him with Provisions, he was forced to come back to Tabreez to give his Horses Grass, having narrowly escap'd being taken himself as he was endeavouring to cut off a Convoy of Provisions going to the Relief of the Tartars. However, foon after Alband. Bashaw of Babylon, defeated Schab Thamas, took all his Baggage, and 80 Pieces of Cannon; the King fled to Koom, a large City, to stay until he could get his straggling Forces together. The News of this gave them the utmost Consternation at Ispahan, that every one was packing up what they esteem'd most valuable, ready to fly; which the English would have done as well as the rest, if the King had not as soon as he loft the Battle, fent a Party of Troops to keep the City in order, and forbid on pain of Death, any body's leaving it. All their Dependence for Safety was on Thamas Kan, who immediately after he had reduced the Castle of Hyraut, march'd to the King's Affistance with a good Army. But their greatest Security was the approaching Winter, for the Persians had no Forces between Hpahan and Alhmadoon; fo that had the Turks purfued their Victory, they

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might eafily have taken the City; for the Governor expected no less, having design'd on their Approach to have evacuated and fet it on Fire. The King's Haram (or Women) were re-

moved to Corbin.

In August, 1732, Thamas Kan seized the King, and fent him a Prisoner under a strong Guard to Mushatt, setting on the Throne Schah Abbass the Third, a Child of three Months old. To keep his Army true and faithful to him, it is not to be described how he drain'd and oppress'd all Persia; how miserable and desolate it was at this Time: However he was defeated in two Skirmishes he had with the Turks, the first of which he fought in Schah Abbass the Third's Name, the second in his own Name; but in the third, for a Tryal of Fortune, he fought in the Name of Schah Thamas, in which he got the better. So superstitious are the Persians, that on this Turn of Success he sent for Schah Thamas again, with a Pretence to re-instate him, after he had taken a solemn Oath to forgive all that was past. But it was only to give him the Title of King; for he had a Notion that Fortune, would continue her Favours to him fighting under his Name, at the same time keeping the exorbitant Power he was possessed of in his own Hands for his Security. How he afterwards assum'd the Throne, with his Expedition into India, and other Successes and various Events of his Life, we refer to Mr. Frazer's ingenious History of him, just publish'd. Let T H E E N D, and some C